

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-12
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 INRE-00 CU-04 HA-05 BIB-01 /069 W
-----065550 272342Z /66

O R 270900Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4735
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION USNATO
USIA WASHDC
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR GER

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DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV AND PA FOR MR. RESTON FROM USDEL CSCE

DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. SCHECHTER

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- U.S. - SOVIET CLASH ON BELGRADE
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT
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REF: A) STATE 19299 NOTAL; B) BELGRADE 583 NOTAL

SUMMARY: ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH STRATEGY WORKED OUT IN
NATO CAUCUS, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DELIVERED SHARP ATTACK ON SOVIET
DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT JANUARY 27, CALLING IT WHOLLY INSUFFICIENT
BASIS ON WHICH TO WORK. HE CRITICIZED SOVIET TACTICS SINCE

BELGRADE MEETING RESUMED AFTER CHRISTMAS RECESS AS CLOSE TO A TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT APPROACH THAT BODED ILL FOR CSCE PROCESS AND DETENTE, AND PLEDGED U.S. EFFORTS TO WORK AS LONG AND AS HARD AS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS ON MUTUALLY AGREEABLE, POLITICALLY SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. AMBASSADOR INDICATED THAT USDEL HAD PREPARED AN ALTERNATIVE DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT REFLECTING PROPOSALS OF WIDE RANGE OF DELS AND WOULD INTRODUCE IT AT APPROPRIATE LATER DATE IF IT APPEARED THAT STEP WOULD FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. MAJOR ALLIED AMBASSADORS BACKED UP U.S. STATEMENT WITH SHORTER PREPARED SPEECHES. SOVIETS REACTED SHARPLY, PARTICULARLY TO AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S CITATION OF SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS FAILINGS THOUGH HE HAD ALSO EXPRESSED PERSONAL VIEWS SYMPATHETIC TO REMEDIAL ACTION ON WILMINGTON 10. SOVIETS IGNORED THEIR OWN DRAFT AND CONCENTRATED ON CHARGE THAT U.S. STATEMENT REVEALED U.S. DESIRES A PROPAGANDA FORUM AT BELGRADE NOT AN EFFORT TO PRODUCE MEANINGFUL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. SEVERAL WARSAW PACT DELS TOOK CAREFULLY NUANCED POSITIONS. EXCEPT FOR MALTA, ALL NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS STAYED OUT OF EAST-WEST DEBATE. END SUMMARY.

1. ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH NATO HEADS OF DELEGATION CAUCUS DESIRE THAT U.S. NOT TABLE FORMAL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT DRAFT TO OPPOSE SOVIET DRAFT AT THIS STAGE BUT INSTEAD ATTACK SOVIET TACTICS IN STRONG END OF WEEK PLENARY STATEMENT, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DECIDED NOT TO USE DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY REF A. HIS PLENARY STATEMENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ASSESSED BELGRADE MEETING AS ESSENTIALLY SUCCESSFUL UP TO CHRISTMAS RECESS, WHEN FOCUS SHIFTED FROM REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION TO DRAFTING CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, BUT STALLED SINCE WORK RESUMED JANUARY 17 WITH INTRODUCTION OF DRAFT SOVIET CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. HE LAID BLAME ON SOVIETS FOR DRAFTING FAILURES SAYING THAT CONFERENCE HAD ACCOMPLISHED VIRTUALLY NOTHING IN PAST TWO WEEKS BECAUSE SOVIETS HAD BEEN INSISTING THAT THEIR DOCUMENT, WHICH TOOK VIRTUALLY NO ACCOUNT OF SUBSTANTIVE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED INTERESTS, WAS, WITH NO MORE THAN COSMETIC CHANGES, ALL THAT BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD PRODUCE.

2. IN DESCRIBING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION STAGE OF CONFERENCE AS ON WHOLE SUCCESSFUL, AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THERE HAD, HOWEVER, NEVER BEEN A CANDID DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS. ASSERTING THAT BUILDING OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND UNDERSTANDING-- THE ESSENCE OF DETENTE -- REQUIRED FRANK TALK, HE EXPLAINED THAT U.S. WAS ALWAYS WILLING TO DISCUSS ITS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS SHORTCOMINGS, REAL OR PERCEIVED. IN THIS SPIRIT HE GAVE AS HIS PERSONAL OPINION, BASED ON READING OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT AND ADDITIONAL PERSONAL INVESTIGATION OF CASE, VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR REMAINING SENTENCES OF WILMINGTON 10 PRISONERS TO BE REMITTED.

HE SAID THAT HE HOPED SOVIET AMBASSADOR COULD SPEAK AS FRANKLY ABOUT MANY HUMAN RIGHTS CASES ABOUT WHICH USDEL HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN DURING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. HE ALSO NOTED DISTURBING REPORTS IN WEEKS SINCE CONFERENCE RESUMED ABOUT NEW ARRESTS IN SOVIET UNION, PENDING TRIALS, AND OTHER HARASSMENTS FROM ALL OF WHICH SOVIETS SHOULD REFRAIN IN HELSINKI SPIRIT.

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3. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DESCRIBED SOVIET PROPOSAL AS UNACCEPTABLE IN THAT IT IGNORED NOT ONLY HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN PROPOSALS SPONSORED BY U.S. BUT ALSO IMPORTANT U.S., WESTERN,

NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AND EVEN SOME WARSAW PACT PROPOSALS DEALING WITH
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FULL RANGE OF FINAL ACT. HE EMPHASIZED THAT U.S. EXPECTS BELGRADE MEETING TO PRODUCE BALANCED, SUBSTANTIVE, POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, WHICH REQUIRES GOOD FAITH EFFORT OF ALL DELS TO FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE MIDDLE GROUND. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT SOVIETS ARE IN EFFECT REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY AND INSISTING THAT THEIR MINIMALIST DOCUMENT MUST BE BASIS FOR MEETING'S RESULTS. AMBASSADOR PLEDGED THAT U.S. WOULD PURSUE ANY NEGOTIATING METHODS, FORMAL OR INFORMAL, FOR AS LONG AS NECESSARY TO PRODUCE SUCCESSFUL RESULTS FROM BELGRADE MEETING.

4. FOLLOWING PRIOR AGREEMENT MAJOR NATO AMBASSADORS (FRG, UK, DUTCH, CANADIAN, ITALIAN), EXCEPT FRENCH WHO HAD SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY AGAINST CONFERENCE DEADLOCK JANUARY 25, WEIGHED IN WITH SHORTER STATEMENTS SUPPORTING AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S ANALYSIS AND CALLING FOR RENEWED GOOD FAITH EFFORTS TO PRODUCE MEANINGFUL RESULTS.

5. SHARP SOVIET REACTION CONCENTRATED ENTIRELY ON U.S. DESIRE TO SCORE PROPAGANDA DEBATING POINTS ALLEGEDLY REVEALED IN RENEWED ATTACK ON SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. SOVIET REP (VORONTSOV) NEVER MENTIONED HIS DEL'S OWN PROPOSAL. INSTEAD HE SAID U.S. ATTITUDE INDICATED WHY HE WAS PESSIMISTIC THAT MEETING COULD BE PRODUCTIVE. SOVIET REP, WITH QUOTATIONS FROM JESSE JACKSON AND TOM PAINE, SAID U.S. SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME AND SHOULD DEAL POSITIVELY WITH REAL SECURITY PROBLEMS OF EUROPE INSTEAD OF BUILDING AND DEPLOYING NEUTRON BOMBS. HE SAID THAT FACT USDEL DISTRIBUTES COPIES OF AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENTS TO PRESS SHOWS REAL U.S. INTEREST IS IN HEADLINES AND PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOVIET UNION, NOT IN ADVANCING CSCE PROCESS. HE ALLEGED THAT RECENT U.S. STATEMENTS ABOUT FRENCH AND ITALIAN POLITICS INDICATED DETERMINATION TO INTERVENE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS NOT ONLY OF SOVIET

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UNION BUT ALSO OF ALLIES.

6. WITH NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR, WARSAW PACT ALLIES LINED UP WITH SOVIETS THOUGH WITH FAMILIAR NUANCES. CZECHS WERE SHARPEST, RECALLING U.S. EFFORTS LAST FALL TO RAISE PROBLEM OF ALLEGED DISSIDENTS IN PRAGUE WHO, CZECH REP SAID, WERE PUTSCHISTS ACTING IN INTEREST OF FORCES ON THEIR WAY OFF HISTORY'S STAGE WHO HAD BEEN REJECTED BY

CZECH PEOPLE TEN YEARS BEFORE. GDR REP COUPLED STRONG ATTACK ON "IDEAL CAPITALIST WEAPON" NEUTRON BOMB, WITH EXPRESSION OF DOUBT THAT U.S. HAD REAL INTEREST IN WORKING CONSTRUCTIVELY FOR POLITICALLY MEANINGFUL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. BULGARIAN, HUNGARIAN AND POLICH REPS SUPPORTED SOVIET DRAFT AND QUESTIONED U.S. ATTITUDE BUT WERE RELATIVELY MILD, PARTICULARLY LATTER WHO NOTED THAT NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS HAD REMAINED SILENT AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT WHILE SOME DELS WERE TALKING OTHERS WOULD WORK BEHIND SCENES TO FACILITATE USEFUL RESULTS.

7 ROMANIAN REP CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM TAKING SIDES, STATING BRIEFLY ONLY THAT HIS DEL CONTINUED TO INSIST ON NEED FOR POLITICALLY IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND BELIEVED THAT ALL DELS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON NEGOTIATIONS AND SEEK TO AVOID POLEMICS. ONLY NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED REP WHO VENTURED INTO AREA, MALTESE, EXPRESSED SIMILAR HOPE THAT DELS WOULD AT LAST GET DOWN TO SERIOUS DRAFTING BUSINESS.

8. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG REBUTTED SOVIET AND CZECH CHARGES BRIEFLY, RECALLING LAST FALL'S EAST/WEST DISPUTE ABOUT NATURE OF NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE OF FINAL ACT AND RESTATING U.S. COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR BALANCED, MEANINGFUL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT TOOK ACCOUNT OF VIEWS OF ALL DELS.
GOLDBERG

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